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*Zur Biographie Martials.* Von DR. EUGEN LIEBEN. Separatabdrücke aus dem *Jahresberichte des Staatsgymnasiums in Prag-Altstadt*, 1910-11, 1911-12. I, 28 pp.; II, 16 pp.

In iii. 95. 5-6 Martial says: "Praemia laudato tribuit mihi Caesar uterque Natorumque dedit iura paterna trium." With this as his chief inspiration, Dr. Lieben has arrived at important conclusions. The keenness and ingenuity that he often displays would fit him to be a successful writer of fiction, but whether he has written that or truth, even Martial himself might in some cases be at a loss to decide. He holds that the epigrammatist, thanks perhaps to Quintilian, had won the favor of Titus, whose own taste for poetry then prompted him to commend Martial to Vespasian. Thereupon, the poet presented the emperor with several small collections of his verse, and was rewarded with the *ius trium liberorum*. The *Caesar uterque* is, therefore, a dark reference to Titus and Vespasian, as is also the *Caesaribus* of i. 101. 2. Titus and Domitian cannot be the two; for Domitian hated his brother too much to allow him the poet's praise. Besides, Martial had no close relations with Domitian before his reign began, nor did he dedicate any earlier book to him than the fifth. Poems ii. 91 and 92, in which he begs for that fictitious fatherhood of three children and then, acknowledging the gift, dismisses his actual or potential wife as no longer a necessity, must likewise have been intended for Vespasian. Since, moreover, in a much later book, the ninth of 94 A.D., there is another reference to this grant, i.e., in 97. 5-6, we are to infer that this poem was composed in 86-87 and was inserted here merely to bring the book to a proper degree of corpulence. (The reviewer would submit that ix actually contains more epigrams than any of nine others, and next to the largest number of lines of any book at all.) Its eighth verse informs us that at the time Martial wrote it he possessed a home of his own in the city. Accordingly, that ownership also reverts to 86-87, and the poet was obviously not so poor at that period of his career as previous biographers have made him. These are the main contentions of the first pamphlet. In the second in response to criticism the writer reiterates his arguments in only slightly emended form.

Now, once the biographer is granted freedom to cull from a book epigrams that confound his chronology and redate them with no other compelling cause at a much earlier period, he can impose almost any conclusions. Allow him further the *argumentum ex silentio*—perhaps the most hazardous available to man as a reasoning animal—and he may well be grateful. These are privileges that Dr. Lieben uses, although reluctant enough to grant them to another. (Cf. Teil II, 4 bottom.) For instance, he reckons Martial's omission of any mention of his equestrian rank in ix. 97, where he is enumerating his points of superiority over an envious *quidam*, as proof that he did not then enjoy it, and that the poem therefore antedates iii. 95. Unfortunately, however, if ix. 97 is of 86-87, verse 8 compels Dr. Lieben to give Martial a

house of his own at that time, but in an epigram of perhaps the year 92, vii. 92, the poet says to unresponsive Baccara: "Pensio te coram petitur clareque palamque," an indication that five or more years later he was still trying to pay rent for lodgings. Dr. Lieben, however, at once assumes that the tenant in arrears, although he speaks in the first person, is not Martial but an imaginary character. (I fear that he has overlooked vi. 59; cf. xi. 74.) The poet, he maintains, never reached such indigence as is indicated in the poem. But can we really believe that he who calls the fenerator Sextus (ii. 44. 3-4) *veterem meum sodalem* never heard the *tristis vox* of a Secundus? There are, at any rate, passages enough in which our Irus of Roman literature does not blush to beg for clothing, and surely, if rents were so exorbitant, indebtedness for his would scarcely place Martial among the paupers whom he scorned any more than a similar tardiness does persons of considerable respectability today—aye even owners of automobiles. But, no matter how we may determine the *dramatis personae* of vii. 92, we must not take either this or any other epigram on "low finance," such as vii. 16, too seriously. The real fact seems to be that Martial's mental equipment forced him, as it does many college professors of today, to associate with persons far wealthier than he, and since he knew well the gentlemanly art of living beyond his means, he often felt what he imagined to be the sensations of indigence. Another poem, viii. 61, blocks the progress of the writer's argument. He reckons Friedländer unreasonable in expecting Martial to mention his city house here, if he really owned it at the time. There is nothing to suggest that the mules were bad—except as all mules are bad—and if that is really the point of the epigram (Teil I, 12), the reviewer would urge that Martial's city house also was *schlecht* enough both in size and in situation to permit its mention in the wish with which he curses Charinus. But after all any theory based on what Martial did or did not own at a particular period of his lengthy stay in Rome makes a weak appeal; for he might have shifted back and forth between tenancy and ownership several times without enlightening us.

Dr. Lieben's interpretation of *festinatis totiens . . . libellis* in ii. 91. 3 (Teil I, 22) leads him to make that another poem published under Domitian but referable to an earlier date. Isn't it notable, however, that both it and iii. 95 so nearly duplicate expressions that appear in what he admits (Teil I, 17) to be a poem to Domitian, iv. 27? It is at any rate rather unlikely that Martial should have had to hurry the completion at different times of at least three and perhaps more dedicatory *libelli* to Vespasian—all lost to us now! The *festinati totiens libelli* were really the irksome petitions with which an emperor was continually assailed. (Cf. viii. 31. 3-4; viii. 82. 1; xi. 1-5.) These Domitian hurried through to turn to the more joyous perusal of the poet's sprightly epigrams. i. 4 in conjunction with i. 5, which must not be ignored, is evidence enough that he had had at least one book dedicated to him.

Finally, can we believe that Martial's reference to Titus would have

offended Domitian? No doubt there was no love lost between the brothers, but if Domitian could enrol Titus among the gods, he could surely share with him a poet's little meed of earthly praise. Probably he did not take Martial so seriously as the modern philologist does. Thus he was supersensitive about his baldness, but our poet could poke limitless fun at those similarly afflicted with impunity. (Suet. *Dom.* 18). How does it help matters anyway to make *uterque* mean Titus and Vespasian, the latter being by no means a *rerum certa salus* and *terrarum gloria* (cf. this very language used of Domitian v. 1. 7-8) in Domitian's estimation? Moreover, Titus is still included, and if even in 94 A.D. everybody would at once interpret the *uterque* of him and his father, surely the expression was not so *rätselhaft* as to beguile a Domitian.

The reviewer has pointed out as fairly as a brief review permits what seem to him to be weaknesses in Dr. Lieben's long chain of argument, but only a perusal of the articles themselves will enable the student of Martial to judge how illuminating and interesting they are.

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*M. Manilii Astronomicon Liber Secundus.* Recensuit et enarrauit  
A. E. HOUSMAN. London: Grant Richards, 1912. 4s. 6d. net.

The biographer of the late Walter Headlam says of him, "His appreciation of other people's humour, in life or books, was inexhaustible. Perhaps no modern writing of the kind gave him keener delight than Professor Housman's Introductions to Manilius and Juvenal. Often would he read or quote to his friends certain classical sentences therefrom, and confess, with streaming eyes, that he loved above all things to be made to laugh outright." Doubtless Mr. Headlam's withers were unwrung, and he could laugh with unembarrassed gaiety. But some others must have winced. Perhaps to those who have the pleasure of Mr. Housman's personal acquaintance the unrestrained causticity of his famous Introductions was merely the indulgence of a merry humor. They were indubitably lively reading, but to the uninitiated their pungency was too much like that of a Mexican tamale: it overwhelmed and disguised the flavor of the solid sense and wise learning which lay beneath.

The reader who expects to find in this edition of Book II of Manilius another prefatory dose of spluttering coruscations will be disappointed. The mood has spent itself, or the physician of intellects judged that a sufficient bolus had already been administered, or perhaps an added decade of years and academic preferment have wrought a pacifying influence. Still the Latin commentary is not without spice.

Certain things in the equipment of Mr. Housman's edition of Manilius I, published in 1903, might be taken to indicate that he had no intention of